1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

FOREWORD

122 The research on which this thesis is based was made possible by a grant from the Foreign Area Fellowship
• 114 Program. Research was conducted from June, 1970, until October, 1971.

000 Among the many individuals and organizations that were extremely helpful, I would like especially to thank Miss Dorothy Soderlund and Mr. James Gould of the Foreign Area Fellowship Program; Mr. Eric Cregeen and Miss Morag MacLeod of the School of Scottish Studies in Edinburgh; Mr. Roger Bland of the Scottish Land Court; Mr. Gordon Adams and Mr. Alastair Munro of the Highlands and Islands Development Board; Mr. Halley of the Crofters Commission; Mr. D.J. Mackay and Mr. John Murdo Morrison of An Comunn Gaidhealach; and Mr. Patrick Guiton, Mr. Finlay Macleod, Mr. Norman MacDonald, Miss Susanne Barding, Mr. Charles Macleod, Miss Pat Swannie, Mr. W. Mathieson, Mr. Alastair Fraser, Mr. Gordon Gair, and Mr. Alec Murdo Morrison.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Robert Storey, that summum bonum of pivotal nodes in a vast network of contacts, and to his wife, Lisa.

I would also like to thank my teachers and advisors at Rice University, Professors Edward Norbeck, F.C. Gamst, M.E. Sheldon, Ronald Provencher, and the late Mary Ellen Goodman.

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

Chapter 1

INTRODUCTION

Scottish crofting townships in the Outer Hebrides, in which I did anthropological fieldwork for fourteen months in 1970-71, participate extensively in the political, educational, economic and administrative systems of larger British society. Despite this participation, the township presents various anomalous features, i.e., features which are inconsistent with what we would expect given our conceptions of the conditions of a modern, urban-industrial nation-state. The expectation that township members will manifest values and beliefs congruent with those prevalent in larger British society, and that patterns of economic specialization and individualization will be found among persons working in the available industries, is not fulfilled. Crofters continue to work small plots of land and engage in communal township activities even while employed by large industrial firms. Distinct patterns of value and belief persist, and are evident even in the use of new ideas and material goods.

This thesis attempts to describe and interpret the seemingly anomalous survival of crofting and crofting

1: Parman E-4,5 (1970-1971) 1972 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Shawbost

typical homestead or "farmtoun" consisted of a "ploughgate" occupied by eight tenants, each of whom contributed one animal to the common plough and thus had an eighth of a share of land or one "oxgate" (Grant 1930: 97).

In the Highlands and particularly in Lewis, about four to six men and their families worked together and shared land which was held in run-rig. The Old Statistical Account (1796) lists 90 ploughs in the parish of Barvas or about one plough per five families (Geddes 1948: 57). Geddes maintains that joint tenants paid an equal share of the rent and had equal "soumings" (the number of stock allowed on the common grazing land). In contrast, Walker (1812: 56) says that joint tenants paid different rents according to the share which they had in the arable land, and that the number of cattle which a tenant had on the common grazing land was soumed or proportioned to his rent; all the tenants worked the arable land together, and received a percentage of the produce which was appropriate to their share. Geddes' description (1948) emphasizes equality within the joint farm; Walker (1812) and Gray (1952) point to differences between tenants and subtenants.

175 Hamelts or clachans
241 (small clustered settlements) were broken up, and
361 houses were isolated on strips of land in linear,
178 single-street villages.

114 Gray (1952, 1957) argues that the main factor
178 behind the reorganization of land use in the Highlands was the progressive, individualistic, laissez-faire ideology of the 18th century. Grant (1930: 97) attributes the reorganization to the high demand for cereals which existed during the Napoleonic wars.
177 Highland landlords, who were very much in contact
241 with the society of the Scottish Lowlands, were influenced by agricultural practices there. The trend to change run-rig, which had once dominated the whole of Scotland, to fixed, compact holdings began in the Lowlands.

423 According to the "progressive" ideology of the
425 time, the giving of land to individual farmers in much
829 larger pieces than they had previously held would serve to stimulate agricultural development and give rise to a class of capitalist farmers. To give land to a relatively few people, however, meant the removal of a large number of tenants who had hitherto been able to survive under the system of run-rig.

LIFE TODAY

As in other Highland areas, some of the island's problems have become so deeply entrenched as to be intractable. They have been the *raison d'être* of so many commissions and committees of inquiry that their existence is now almost forgotten by the islander —if indeed he ever understood their nature. Some results have been seen, such as the Crofters Act of 1886 which gave Highland crofters security of tenure, perhaps the most valuable measure of the last century or two. But somehow all things have not progressed so well since that date; at any rate not so fast that crofting, for instance, is now seen to be an economic form of land use of benefit to both local community and nation at large. Many problems have been virtually ignored by successive central Governments; at least, remoteness seems to qualify a topic for the office 'pending' tray. It has yet to be fully realised that the island, with other Highland communities, is part and parcel of the area generally administered from London and Edinburgh, and merits as much attention to its welfare as other European governments, such as Norway, give to their remote mainland and island communities.

As usual, charity and self-help begin at home, and one of the most dramatic changes in island life has been the result of the agricultural revolution of recent years which is changing once-brown moors to lush green pastures: reclamation by re-seeding. This revolution is still going on. Lewis crofters in particular are showing the way, with other Highland crofting areas following suit. The change in the Lewis scene is being emphasised by the planting of shelter-belts of hardy trees and the first of the new plantations of timber-producing trees. These show the promise of the future: a lively future for a lively community. The fishing industry also has a future, brighter on the horizon than it has been for many a poor year. The Harris Tweed industry, the staple employment-source in Lewis, is maintaining its ability to retain the interest of the market. And tourism, once a perfunctory and casual affair, promises to emerge as a useful sector in the economy. There are, in addition, many small pockets of native initiative and enterprise which, given sufficient encouragement

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

discovers the strength of community life. And by his renewal of 'racial' experience he may rediscover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural holiday. Hence a book such as this inevitably, and I think rightly, contains much that has been felt in a personal way. Yet to offset personal limitations, there is needed objective survey, geographical and social, applied with an open mind and submitted to searching criticism. These two sides, personal and impersonal, I have tried to combine.

The initiation of this work owes much to others, in ways of which they were never to know: to the chieftain, farmer and scholar, James Archibald Campbell of Barbreck, to my brother Alasdair, to my father, Patrick Geddes, who suggested in 1919 to the first Lord Leverhulme that Marcel Hardy, scientist and farmer, should survey the land in Lewis-and-Harris; to Lord Leverhulme, and to Dr. Hardy himself, whom I then assisted. To Mr. T. B. Macaulay, LL.D., was due the suggestion and the plea, made ten years later, that I should bring up to date Dr. Hardy's MS. report.

It was because of Dr. Macaulay's faith in the Island's future and the aid he generously gave to experiments in the reclamation of peat, and also because of the Islanders' own response to his lead, that I accepted this voluntary task. Acceptance, as it proved, was rash. Except for certain valuable findings included under Dr. Hardy's name, a new work had to be written. These circumstances led to the making of the book, stretched over thirty-five years. Certain early hopes recorded here have been frustrated. On the other hand, developments have taken place which few could have foreseen but for their faith in the future of the Island and its people. I trust that in this book the advantages of slow growth outweigh the drawbacks, for time

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

verses would ring false to them! Before 1939, two-fifths of the rural pupils of most non-crofting counties came or went in the school year—most of them the children of farm servants. Their schooling suffered, and their teachers might be reduced to despair; indeed it is to educationists, rather than to agriculturists, that we owe a survey of these facts. When they leave home to be 'hired', the young folk learn to fend for themselves but may suffer in the learning: stability of character and endurance in attachment are hard to form.

It would be difficult to overstress the tragedy of the long-continued break-up of rural communities in the Lowlands. From the later years of the English invasions, as when Major wrote with his knowledge of Scotland in 1500, this break-up continued through the early, largely unrecorded phases of the agricultural revolution, down to the later phases from 1750 or 1800 to the present day. No one who has worked with fellow-servants on Scots farms will under-estimate their sterling qualities. But the break-up, the tragedy, happened. It was boldly sketched by the Rt. Hon. Thomas Johnston (to 1929) and verified by Miss I. F. Grant (1924 onward). Beginning from intimate study of well recorded and surviving ways in the Highlands and the Hebrides, Miss Grant realised the significance of earlier Lowland life in the farm-hamlet or ferm-toun, as Lowlanders themselves could hardly have done. Comprehension of this break-up of community brings out the value of the enduring elements of communal life still recorded, remembered and surviving in the 'Outermost' Hebrides, at the core of 'the North and West'.[1]

[1] Ideas outlined in this section are developed in A. Geddes (1938–54). Detailed references will be found in the Bibliography.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

follows that as the descendants of the crofters of the South-west and East Highlands could and did change their ways within the space of a lifetime, so those of the North-west Highlands and the Isles can change too. Given the co-operative leadership which is arising in the twentieth century and was totally lacking in the ideals and training typical of the nineteenth, that change may be not only for the better in the development of 'individual' qualities, such as the power to do hard work for 'success'; change may also maintain and develop what still remains of the old characteristics which gave the community life of the Gael, with all its faults, elements of beauty and sanctity.

In an article on "The Human Geography of Lewis", A. Stevens (1925) described the Island and people. His comparison of the cold, wet 'desert' of Lewis and its corn-patch 'oases' with the desert of heat and drought and its oases of palms, is ingenious and suggestive. One might follow up the analogy and compare irrigation to the drainage of moorland and its fertilisation, which form the means of reclamation at home, and draw parallels between their immediate results on the land and the ultimate effects on work and social life.

Until the agricultural revolution, the unwritten story of Scotland was in great part that of a long, uneven struggle to make sour soils fit for cultivation and productive of a livelihood. Most of all is this true for North-west Scotland; moreover, there, for eighty years past, the struggle has been a losing one, in the sense that arable land has been decreasing and rough pasture deteriorating. In spite of subsidies, the 'marginal farms' of Scotland have a tough fight. Yet lands from Scandinavia to Finland and North Germany are giving a lead in peat-reclamation, where

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

by reclamation, notably at the Macaulay Demonstration Farm on the 'peat moss' of Arnish Moor (south of Stornoway), then too small to be shown, and in South-west Harris where new crofts were laid out in the thirties.

The six main types of vegetation in the Island may be grouped as three. First are the Hill Pastures and Moors: (1) 'Rocky' among the bare hill-tops of Harris and Uig, and (2) 'Fair' on favourable slopes, which merge into (3) 'Marshy Grass Moors' of coarse grass and sedges, heath and rushes. Secondly come (4) the vast brown 'Peat Mosses and Moors', either smooth and wet, with sedge and cotton grass, or channelled and cut up into hags; near the broken edges of the island cliffs this expanse is often fringed by (5) the 'Heather Moor'. Thirdly, by the sandy bays, are (6) the 'Machar lands', *i.e.* the 'Sandy Pastures', rich with clover; though narrow, this coastal plain is all important to stock-rearing and potato-growing, and so to settlement. In traditional terms, these three groups form hill moor, peat moss and sandy shores: *monadh*, *mòine* and *machair*.

(c) CROFTING AND THE CROFTERS' YEAR

1. *Place of Settlement and Choice of Work—Past and Present*

Lewis and 'Harrey', as they were called four centuries ago, were well described by Dean Monro,[1] and his description is fundamental to the present scene. "Harrey is very fertile and fruitful for corne, store and fishing, twice mair of delving is in or of teilling", which appears to mean

[1] Dean Monro, *The Western Islands of Scotland . . . in 1549*, reprinted by A. Mackay, Stirling, 1934.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

that the spade and foot-plough (*cas chrom*) were used for double the area ploughed. From Monro and from the precise Statistical Accounts of the eighteenth century, it is clear that pony-drawn ploughs were usual in the smoother parts of Lewis. In North Harris are 'abundance of Deir'. We must not forget here that 'faire' and fertile are comparative terms for the West. "Lewis is faire and weill inhabit at the coste, ane fertile and fruitful countrey, for the maist part beire [barley], with 4 Paroche Kirkes." There is "ane castell callit Stornoway . . . with 3 salt loches, very fine for take of herrings . . . [and] infinite fresh water loches. In the Lewis there are 8 waters with take of salmont. . . ." There were also "Whales . . ." In "a cove 2 fadoms deep at the ebb sea, uses Whytuns (whitings) to be slain with huiks", there were "very many haddocks and Men with their wandes sitting [as today] upon the Craiges of that cove, and Lades [boys] and Women also. . . . In this Ile there are many Sheip for it is very guid for the same. For they lay furth ever one mures and glens and never enters in a house and their wool is bot anes in the zeire pluckit off them in some fauldes." In Zetland wool is still plucked, not sheared.

The description of reclamation is specially worthy of note: "In this countrey all is peit mossland at the Sea cost, and the plaice where he wins his peitts this zeire [year] . . . there he sawes his corne the nixt zeire, after that he guidds it weill with Sea ware" [*i.e.*, improves or manures it with seaweed]. On "Ellan Colm Cill [an islet apparently on the east coast south of Stornoway at the mouth of Loch Erisort] Macloyd of the Lewis has ane faire Orchard, and he that is Gardener has that Ile [rent] free. . . ."

Around the coast of Lewis no absolute limit is set to

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

174 Commercial Revolution, and the manufacturers and financiers of the later Industrial Revolution. Along one or more lines, the chiefs may record a thread of ancestry continuing for twenty-five generations or more; but almost invariably it is intertwined with others spun by fortune and added at each generation from outside the region. This is true even in the Highlands, where the gentry of one or two particular clans used to meet regularly until the nineteenth century to court and wed, so that inter-marriage established physical traits still recognisable in their descendants. But as for the nobility or leading chiefs, their principal claims go back, almost invariably, to conquerors, Norse or Norman, and later, alien commanders sent by the Crown, although certain chiefs traditionally claim descent—at least through the maternal line—from legendary heroes and early Gaelic kings, a claim which may symbolise a real link with native strains. As for the people, in the Scottish Lowlands few original communities survive. But particularly in the Long Island, the long pedigrees of the crofter families show them to be pure in every thread for generations past; while the racial homogeneity of communities, isle by isle and township by township, marks them as truly 'original'.

• 114 174 These facts have been recognised by anthropology, but too often the full, cultural significance is missed. Sixty years ago Sir G. L. Gomme included evidence from Harris in 1790, and from Carmichael's memoranda to the Crofters' Commission of 1884, in his pioneer study, *The Village Community, with special reference to the Origin and Form of its Survivals in Britain* (1890). Gomme fully appreciated the ancient origins of custom and races. Indeed he shows analogies of primitive communal customs in the Hebrides and Britain with others of 'backward' pre-Aryan

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

aborigines in India—lovable people when unspoiled by tyranny, caste or industrial exploitation, as I can testify.[1] Yet Gomme, like many since, leaves the reader with an impression which must be re-examined: that the Islesfolk are the representatives of a backward race who have clung to predominantly superstitious, pre-Christian customs and beliefs. As a people, the Gael received and welcomed Christianity in one of its earliest historic forms, and maintained its spirit through poverty and famine. To this inheritance we shall turn in Chapter VII, when the rhythm of life and its changes have been followed out in the following chapters.

To begin with, the briefest outline of historic sequence is all that can be recapitulated, the Island annals having been recorded in the excellent Brand Report (1902), and by W. C. Mackenzie (1903 to 1937). Politically and strategically, the age of clanship may be thought of as a period of struggle between the Islands and the Mainland to the south or east. The long-drawn conflict of Clan Campbell of Argyll with Clan Donald—whose Chief was the Lord of the Isles of which Islay and Skye were the two dominant, western keys, and Lewis and Harris the northern outposts—offers a parallel to the conflict of MacKenzie of Kintail with the last MacLeods of Lewis. Obscurity veils the early origins of the Island clans, with their mingled Norse and Gaelic lineage, but chronicles are more reliable by the time of forfeiture of the lordship of the Isles to the Crown in 1493. The MacLeods of Dunvegan, chiefs in north-west Skye, continued to hold Harris until late in the eighteenth century, and they maintained an indirect connection until the nineteenth.

[1] A. Geddes, *Au pays de Tagore: la civilisation rurale du Bengale Occidental*, Paris, 1927.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

COMMUNITY FROM PAST TO PRESENT PT. II

(D) TACKSMEN AND SUBTENANTRY, FACTOR AND LORD: 1611–1800

175 427 614 621 We saw that in the Rent-roll of Lewis in 1718 the first sixty-four entries, signed personally, recorded comparatively large holdings (tacks), the annual rentals of which were from £3 : 6 : 8 to over £10, the occupant of one (or more) of which would be styled Tacksman or 'Man of the Farmtown' (*Fear Baile*). While one or two tacks were shared, a few tacksmen may have held more than one tack—though one cannot be sure, owing to the recurrence of the same [551] Christian names in each clan. It is striking that half the tacks—though mostly small ones—were held by men of undoubted mainland names, of which there were twenty-two MacKenzies, four MacLennans and three Mathesons. [166] These were doubtless the descendants of gentlemen from the mainland who in 1611 had helped to win and hold the [551] Island for MacKenzie of Kintail, later Lord Seaforth. Of native Lewis names the principal are MacAulay, Morison and perhaps MacIver.[1] Only three small tacks were held by MacLeods, who may have been of Island stock. Lochs and Eye on the east coast had largely been granted in tack to the new-comers; on the south-west and west coast MacAulays and MacIvers held much of Uig and a few farms in Cladach; but more of Cladach and most of Ness (in the north) were still held by joint tenants. Stornoway was held by burghers, of whom perhaps two-thirds bore mainland names. The peasantry remained as unnamed subtenants on these holdings, of which the total rents show

[114]

[1] The writers of the Brand Report (1902) assumed that MacIver is a native name. This would seem to be borne out by its frequency as a surname today, in contrast to MacKenzie, Matheson or MacLennan, though W. C. Mackenzie (1919, p. 92) thought the MacIver tacksmen arrived with Seaforth.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

xviii. 19-20). The worldly wise might think that the spiritual fare of these poor folk must have been lean indeed; while others, having heard much of the Highlanders' 'pagan' superstitions, may think even worse! The evidence from which to judge is found in survivals from a rich lore, and for most readers seen but 'darkly' through prose translations from the poetry of a tongue now known to few.

The richest collection is Alexander Carmichael's *Carmina Gadelica* (*Ortha nan Gaidheal*).[1] Others were made by the Rev. Fr. Allan Macdonald of Eriskay, and by the Rev. Kenneth Macleod with Mrs. M. Kennedy-Fraser in the *Songs of the Hebrides*. Included here are unpublished verses given by crofter-friends in the Isles and others from Fr. Allan Macdonald's collection,[2] hitherto untranslated. What still remains has come down to us only by narrow escapes. One is reminded of 'Father Allan's' early death, after nursing his parishioners through an epidemic; and Carmichael's escape from drowning as "on

[1] *Carmina Gadelica: Ortha Nan Gaidheal.* Hymns and incantations with illustrative notes on words, rites and customs, dying and obsolete: orally collected in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland and translated into English; vols. i and ii (1st ed., 1900; 2nd ed., 1928); vol. iii, 1940; vol. iv, 1941. The last two volumes were edited by the collector's grandson, Prof. James Carmichael Watson, whose death as an Ordinary Seaman in war is mourned by his friends, and has been described as a disaster to the cause of Gaelic, and of humane learning in Scotland. One more volume edited by James C. Watson awaits publication. (In the following, quotations are referred to as from *Carmina*, followed by the number of the rune: Nos. 1-216, vols. i and ii; and Nos. 217-351, vol. iii. Vol. iv contains varied lore.)

[2] Of all these four, the least known is Fr. Allan Macdonald's little collection, *Comh-Chruinneachadh de Laoidhean Spioradail*, Hugh Macdonald, Oban, 1893. It was privately printed, and lacks a translation and table of contents. There could be no finer memorial to this man and the community whose spiritual life he helped to record than a new edition of all its ancient Gaelic 'spiritual songs', with the addition of others he wrote down before his death in 1905, and perhaps, of some of his own poems, notably his famous *Eilean na h-Oige*, "Isle of the Young".

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

facing the sun, he cut a handful of corn. Putting the handful three times round his head, the man raised the '*Iollach Buana*', reaping salutation,—and the whole family then took up the strain." While these notes by Carmichael describe the custom after the abolition of the farm-team, he also tells of "all the people of the Townland going together to reap" (*Carmina*, No. 89, cf. Note to No. 90). In the days of close partnership this was no doubt a team blessing, said by the chief reaper among his neighbours in mutual aid.

Grace before meals survives in Presbyterian households; and ancient graces are recorded in *Carmina*, vol. iii. The unpublished examples given here are from Miss Annie Johnston (or NicIain), Barra, to whose knowledge Gaelic lore owes so much:

1. O God, bless our portion, and our people.
2. O God, be about the beginning of our life (or food) and about the end of our life (*lit.* of our world).
3. O God, let nothing enter our bodies that may harm our souls.

A Dhia, beannaich ar cuid 'us ar cuideachd.
A Dhia, bi mu thus ar bithe (or *bidhe*)
'us mu dheireadh ar saoghail.
A Dhia, na leig dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n'anam.[1]

[1] The reader will note the meaning in translation; but he should also scan the Gaelic, and the assonance of the vowels. In the first and shortest there is a simple play upon sound and meaning: *ar cuid 'us cuideachd*—"our share (of things) and our (share of) people, friends and family". In the second, Miss Johnston thinks there may be a play upon the words 'life' and 'food' (of which the sound is almost the same), reminding one that food is the means of life and of all that life means. In the third the apposition of ideas is characteristically emphasised in the pattern of the accented vowels in the words "*dad 'n ar coluinn a ni lochd do'r n-anam*"; here again the form, by means of which it sank through the senses into the heart, marks its native origin. Contrast with these the translation into Gaelic of a common English Grace. As in the English original, its prose lacks poetic form: *Tha sinn a toirt taing dhuit, A Thigearna, airson nan tiodhlaicean a tha Do mhathas a' buileachadh oirnn, troimh Iosa Criosda ar Tighearna.* Amen.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

The care of cattle was accompanied by prayer. As an Eriskay housewife said to me, she would never leave her cow tethered without a murmured, "Saint Columba be herding you" (*Buachaille a'Chaluim-cille ort*). The curing of animal sickness, as of human ailments, was accompanied by prayers. And prayer was used to avert the evil eye, symbol of suspicions born of unreasoning fear which, psychologists tell us, beset the modern but little less than the ancient! The thought or act of prayer which links a man to his fellow-men links him to the dumb beasts. "The man who is merciful to a soul will not be merciless to a brute" (*Am fear a bhitheas trocaireach ri anam, cha bhith e mithrocaireach ri bhruid*).

Throughout Christendom each task of the annual rhythm was marked, at its start and close, by a day of seasonal festival (*Lá Feill*). These Christian festivals replaced earlier celebrations and continued some of their features, often in play. Yet concerted seasonal activities could not be related to the supreme festival of the Christian Church, Easter, owing to its movable date. This is one reason for the great importance of other, fixed Festivals to rural community life. This point, not always appreciated by latter-day individualism, is made clear by M. M. Banks in describing *British Calendar Customs*, vol. i, *Scotland* (1937). Remembering that the Old Style Calendar dates were ten days later than the New Style (when officially adopted in Scotland in 1600), they may be compared with the annual rhythm of climate and labour (Fig. 9). Until 1600, the New Year began in spring on 25th March. After the Reformation and the abolition of Christmas or Noel, *Nollaig*, New Year's Day on 1st January took its place as the day which, in the Protestant Highlands and Lowlands, still keeps alive some of the old friendly visiting and

3t Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

the invocation was addressed to boys and girls, in Uist to youths and maidens. The loveliest version of all had been spoken by an old, evicted woman and learned from her by a lad who, as a poor crofter in old age, passed it down for record, for ever. Of this invocation Carmichael wrote, " Probably it was composed to a maiden on her marriage. The phrase '*eala dhonn*', brown swan, would indicate that the girl was young—not yet a white swan ", a tender and delicate recognition of youth still to attain perfection. Not a thought jars, each stanza building up the rising movement of the whole. In the hundred lines of this poem, metre and assonance are regular except where growing intensity creates new rhythm and design; and the last vowel-rhyme of each stanza leads on to those of the next one, to form an unbroken ascent to the climax.[1]

The Invocation begins, " I bathe thy palms. . . . And I place the nine pure choice graces in thy fair fond face. The grace of form . . . of fortune . . . of goodness . . . of wisdom . . . of charity . . . of choice maidenliness

[1] Certain critics, struck with the variety of the poem but missing its thought-sequence and unity of form, took Carmichael's note of ' many fragments ' to imply that the poem was a composite version, piously restored by the editor—in spite of his statement that it was taken down from a single reciter (one Duncan Maclellan). Carmichael's spiritual power of evoking treasures from the reciters was inseparable from his utter honesty. And the publication, forty years later, of four Invocations and of scores of fragments (cf. No. 277) has added (to the internal evidence cited) further proof that the poem was no editorial assemblage. Without doubt, the poem has grown from the inspired meditation of generations of poet-worshippers in a hundred glens and isles. But the English reader should realise what the Gaelic ear may hear: this poem forms an organic unity; though many petalled it is a single flower. Readers familiar with medieval or earlier chants know that the enumeration of attributes is a feature common to all, whether in Church Latin or other tongues, as in the English medieval hymn beginning, " God in my head, and in my understanding ". In Gaelic, however, the richness and freedom of the vowel-pattern and rhythms carries the thought onward, wave on wave to its climax. A foremost poet of France, Pierre Emmanuel, to whom I introduced this poem, exclaimed, " This is a Christian Song of Songs ! "

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

764
539

that never aged: Each one of these dreams, dear love, be thine. . . .

The dusk of the Death-sleep is, love, in thine eye,
But softly thou'lt sleep, softly sleep. . . .
In name of the Three in One,
Peace to thy pain,
The Christ is come . . .
Softly sleep, softly sleep. . . .

114

The late Professor Sir J. Arthur Thomson, deeply moved on hearing it sung for the first time, exclaimed, "How profound the civilisation of those who composed and handed down this hymn of farewell!" The Soul-friend and Watchers seem to unfold before us the wide range of human love, and—as they recall the tender relationships of birth, childhood, parenthood and parting—to touch the universal.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175
798
[829]

and of a township's tiny chapel, oratory or *teampull*.

In Lewis, as in the Northern Isles, the early years of the Reformation period had been years of invasion by the King's Adventurers, of resistance, bloodshed and ruin. Hence when Mackenzie brought a Protestant clergyman to minister to the people they flocked to hear him. Naturally the new lord chose one of his important tenants from Kintail, the Rev. Farquhar Macrae. "For forty years prior to the visit (about 1611) no one in Lewis appears to have been baptized or married,"—or rather, no ceremonies had been performed by professional clergy, an important distinction. "'The population', we are told, 'had lapsed into heathenism', but 'Mr. Farquhar's' mission proved thoroughly successful. 'Large numbers of the people were baptized, some of them being fifty years of age, and many men and women were married who had already lived together for years.' The author also stated that the success of this mission went far to reconcile the inhabitants of Lewis to Lord Kintail's rule. According to a Kintail tradition, 'the number of people that came to be baptized by Mr. Farquhar was so great that, being unable to take them individually, he was obliged to sprinkle the water at random on the crowd with a heather besom'"[1] —much as it still is on certain festivals in the Roman Church.

[114]

The tale of the Rev. Farquhar Macrae shows both the spiritual prestige of one who could read the Scriptures and must understand them, and the people's belief that a lord who brought a Gaelic clergyman must indeed be a Christian and was to be welcomed, or at least accepted. After the larger churches had been rifled by lairds, 'Pro-

[113]

[1] Brand Report, 1902, p. xii; from Alexander Macrae, the *History of the Clan Macrae*, Dingwall, 1899, p. 57.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

175
798
114

testant' and perhaps 'Catholic' too, or sacked by the King's Adventurers, there seems to have been little effort to build or rebuild the four 'paroche kirkis', one of the terms of the Royal grant or infeftment of the Lews to Kintail (Seaforth). But the evidence in the previous chapter makes one doubt that the maintenance of Celtic Christianity by the people in their thatched 'temples', in their homes and fields, or at sea, was "a lapse into heathenism". The term had been better applied to the acts of certain chiefs, and of the King and his Adventurers.

175
771
[829]

Although imbued with their traditional faith, the people were intensely aware of their isolation from the great world, and humble as to their own oral learning and religious culture. Moreover, since the arrival of Christianity they believed that they belonged to the Church Catholic. But by the sixteenth century their lords had misappropriated funds, clerical absenteeism was common, and they cannot have been unaware of faults in the Church of Rome. They were the more eager to welcome any cleric who read the revered Scriptures, whether he came as a Calvinist or Episcopalian from Edinburgh or by perilous journeys from Armagh, Spain or Rome itself.[1] Living far from the worst theological controversies and persecutions inflicted for a century after 1560, the Islesfolk revered a good cleric for his own sake, as they did Macrae and, later, the minister of Barvas (and Martin himself) in lonely North Rona in 1695.

[1] Catholic missions to the Isles in the penal times are described in Compton Mackenzie's *The Book of Barra*, 1936. Martin (1695) refers to some Harris fishermen recently reconverted by priests, and to the mockery of their 'Protestant' neighbours because in spite of Roman prayers, their fishing had been less successful! Some of the MacKenzie tacksmen and no doubt their tenantry remained Roman Catholics until after the 'Forty-five, notably MacKenzie of Kildun near Stornoway, who gave shelter to Prince Charles in 1746. (W. C. Mackenzie, 1919, pp. 126-130.)

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

789 away scot-free! Both persons secretly concerned felt that they had endangered their souls by successfully defeating justice through their misuse of the invocation. Can one [783] doubt that they were partly right in both beliefs? The malefactor's confidence had lent success to perjury, and perjury by help of prayer was deadly sin.

• 114 Now, the perverted use of prayer, as in this case, was clearly understood to be evil-doing; but what of magic and superstitious practices? Much has been written of 'Highland folk-lore and superstitions'.[1] The religion of the past should be distinguished from these. In *The Golden Bough*, Frazer drew a useful distinction between religion and magic. Religion, he wrote, relies upon the propitiation of higher powers—or even, in more primitive forms than Christianity, the propitiation of the forces of nature—while magic is an attempt at direct control of 121 natural forces. Superstition may be defined here as a body of beliefs and practices in which hopes and fears attach themselves to things seen or done, by a multitude of false analogies and by irrational links of effects to supposed causes. Such superstitions are marginal to the main body of belief, worship and conduct which forms religion.

At the same time, no hard-and-fast line can be drawn between folk-lore and religion, where religion is handed on as living word and ritual almost without the aid of 121 writing. This is particularly true where the religion of 771 which we think, that of the Gael, is founded upon self-supporting peasant life, in line with that of the humble, working founder of Christianity—historically native to an outlying district of his own country—and not with the

[113] [1] D. J. Macleod, D.Litt.: (*a*) *Highland Folklore* (32 pp.), Inverness; (*b*) Introduction to Martin's *Western Isles* (edn. Stirling, 1934). N. Morrison, Hon. D.Sc., *Superstitions of Lewis*, Stornoway, *c.* 1930.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

121 [791] theology and scholarship of a capital city, even of a city so small as Jerusalem! It is sometimes forgotten that the Old Testament, upon which so much of theology is built, contains folk-lore and magic. Not until this is fully understood in the sense in which early Oriental 'folk' believed it, can it be interpreted, whether as imaginative symbolism or common sense.[1] Much in the orthodox belief of medieval or post-Reformation times was mistaken; yet it formed part of the religion, not the 'superstition' of the stage and period. Theology and philosophy are in constant transformation. Sheltered scholars, priests and rulers of cities may be ill-fitted to interpret the inspiration of a religion which grew from life in field, pasture and at sea, whether in its native land of Galilee and the East or among the Gael. One must live with a people and be one of them, at least for a time, to interpret their inner life. Lastly, no generalisation is true for all members of a community: individuals differ. The same prayer, the same rite, may be used in so different a way by each of two neighbours that its use by one is religious but by the other superstitious.

• 114 796 We have seen that the essence of the lore from which we have quoted is not magical, but religious, in use as in inspiration. Strangers who had lost the sense of the beauty in the skies mistook a Gael's adoration of God at sunrise for prayer to the sun; when a man unbonneted or a woman knelt in the open, face turned to the rising moon lightening the dark, they confused prayer with worship of the moon itself. Now, in paganism, a belief in nature-spirits is strong: but propitiation is made not to objects such as the sun or moon, but to spirits believed to influence or

[113] [1] W. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites* (3rd ed., ed. S. A. Cooke, 1927). J. G. Frazer, *Folk-lore in the Old Testament* (3 vols.), 1919.

St Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

dwell in them—to a sun or moon spirit. If the people once believed in a 'moon-spirit', nothing is left to show it. Either the moon is addressed as if she could hear her praise, or—more commonly—"The King of the Elements" or "of life" is thanked for sending her light. The Archangel Michael is associated with the sun's rays; but symbolically in relation to heart and mind, rather than as literal belief. The response to sunrise and sunset was real; and it is not lost among the people, as a watcher may see.[1]

It remains true that pre-Christian rites were re-enacted, sometimes in fear and desperation when things had gone wrong, and sometimes in mere play. A Lewisman in Carmichael's hearing spoke of "going between the two great fires of Beul" (or Baal), his phrase expressing no more than a faded memory. But in Reay, in hard times bordering on famine, a fishing skipper was seen by his small son, supposed to be asleep, to assemble his crew and, after putting out the fire on the hearth, kindle the *neid fire* by rubbing two pieces of wood vigorously together. Each man then carried a kindling back to his own home.[2] Was this a religious ritual of human energy, heat and light, symbolic of forces held to be under Divine control but to be used as they used wind and tide by strenuous effort at the oars? Or was it magic, pure and simple? When men are shaken by failures and the fear of famine, prayer in word and ritual may restore hope for better things—for safety in storm and for fish in abundance as in a miraculous draught—and confidence in their powers for their work. But the same can be true of magic. And neither prayer nor

[1] For contemporary record, descriptions of sunsets have appeared in the *Stornoway Gazette* from the pen of a crofter in retirement, N. Morrison.

[2] *Carmina*, vol. ii, Notes, *Neid Fire*.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

171 754 though the suspected person was not thereby accused of ill will, he would have to make some effort to put it right. 'Cure' might be sought either by counter-malediction on the supposed ill-wisher, known or unknown, or else by prayer that the evil should be spread so widely as to be harmless, as "on all the wild birds of Heaven . . . that it would do them no harm"—a charming touch! (*Carmina*, 782 vol. iii). Prayer was the normal and the best protection, free of any malediction, and was included in general intercession for loved ones. But fears remain—not only in 'distant' isles—both in peace and in the extreme stress of war.

• 114 155 A psychotherapist of 1917–18, A. J. Brock, wrote that the "War was not in essence a new thing, the ordinary life of every day being itself a sort of battle".[1] Brock brought the hard-learned psychotherapy of war to bear upon a fresh understanding of the countryman struggling against an environment with which he has got out of tune. Failing in spite of strained effort to get the food and warmth he needs for himself and his 'wife and weans', the peasant may lose happiness in home and village, and faith in the future. "How did primitive people express all this?" asked Brock, noting that the risks and casualties of bad time in the past brought fears and floating pictures comparable to those of 'shell-shocked' patients.

171 776 In all lands the unity of family life and labour is symbolised in homelier folk-lore by the protective spirit of each homestead. As long as the work is carried on heartily and thriftily the Brownie is pleased. But the people may become negligent, or begin to labour from mercenary motives. The true spirit of the work is then upset and (in all folk-lore) the Brownies begin to give

[113]

[1] A. J. Brock, *Health and Conduct*, 1923, pp. 155-170.

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

Education Act of 1872, for the people "did not want to give their children wings to leave them".[1]

The reading of Gaelic progressed fairly rapidly after 1800, in order that the Bible might be read. By 1833 something like one in three or four of the population, or more than half of the younger people, could read Gaelic. The Hon. Mrs. Stewart-Mackenzie of Seaforth, it seems, had a 'warm sympathy' both with teaching to read the Scriptures and with evangelical preaching. The coming to Lewis in 1824 of the first evangelical minister, the Rev. Alexander MacLeod, an Assynt man, is described in his memoir in a striking volume, *Disruption Worthies of the Highlands*, edited by J. Greig (1877).

"At the distance of more than half a century it is not easy to form a conception of the religious and moral condition of Lewis previous to the year 1824. The present writer has heard a still living minister of the Free Church, who is a native of Uig, declare publicly that only two or three copies of the Bible could be found within the wide extent of the parish, and that he himself travelled a journey in search of a copy of the blessed book, and all in vain. . . . The densest intellectual and spiritual darkness held universal sway. Notwithstanding the pleasing features that characterise Highlanders, even in their most primitive condition, this state of things could not fail to be attended with baleful fruits. Despite their constitutional warmth of heart and loyalty of nature, unbending fidelity to what they esteemed to be honour, and their unbounded kindness and hospitality, many gross vices were found commingling in the characters and lives of the Lewis people. For, however strange it may appear, at the first prayer-meeting

[1] Quotations to this effect, dating from the *Old Statistical Account* until 1883, are given in the Brand Report of 1902.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 intuitive and traditional, of the people, and their love for
(181) the good and beautiful. Song collectors from outside the
Island have found little and assumed that song had been
• (114) swept away. Discretion is certainly needed for song col-
[533] lection! Years ago in Bernera I had been told of a pretty
love lament I had not heard. Calling with my hosts to
125 invite him to their house that evening, we found the singer,
533 a burly crofter of fifty or so. We had been about to
183 mention the word 'song', when the word was checked on
our lips by a swift, warning glance. The singer lived with
his old mother and she must not be told that her son went
533 out on such an errand! Nevertheless, Islanders them-
178 selves are collecting many unpublished songs, where
strangers failed. The Laxdale School choir wins prizes at
(814) many a national gathering or *Mod*, for their spirited singing
of songs, many of them unpublished. Owing in part to
their very isolation, these songs have remained as pure in
form as in the Catholic Isles, whether in time and rhythm
or in scale and mode. Thus the sub-intervals or 'quarter-
tones' of the modal scale add subtlety to the melodic line
of an air, as in the melodies of Wales or of distant India.[1]
These intervals are rarely heard on concert platforms,
being unrecognised by many 'Mod medallists'. They
are rarely known to professional musicians trained to
the mechanical scale of the piano, and who are asked,
as adjudicators, to award praise or criticism by alien
standards.

181 Courtesy and modesty are noticeable among the young

[1] M. Kennedy-Fraser, Preface, *Songs of the Hebrides*, vol. i. Cf. Glyn-Williams, *Welsh Song and Dance* (Curwen, 1936). For India see A. H. Fox Strangways, *The Music of Hindustan* (1914), pp. 104 ff., and H. A. Popley, *The Music of India* (1921); cf. A. Geddes in A. Karpelès (ed.), *L'Inde et son âme*, Paris, 1927. While published phonographic records of Indian singing normally illustrate these intervals, those of Gaelic Hebridean singers rarely do, as they are accustomed to alter to suit a piano.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

language." Many Islanders would agree with the statement that Gaelic was a barrier to economic progress. It was not only Lowland schoolmasters, ignorant of Gaelic but an educated, sensible class of men in their day, who used the strap on the palms of the little children "for their good" because they could not understand English. An active Lewis country schoolmaster, who had considerable rural knowledge and experience, said to me: "I know what I have suffered through life from being brought up on Gaelic. If I had my way, I would *punish* [with the strap] every child I heard speaking Gaelic in the playground!" Had the Island School Boards wished Gaelic to be consistently taught with English, they could have prevailed.

One may not only disagree strongly with the means—the strap—but hold that enlightened bilingual teaching is both worth while culturally and also of assistance to intelligence without interfering with use in English of the three Rs, and of secondary and higher education. Yet in Lewis recent non-verbal tests in English and Gaelic show a mean intelligence quotient depressed by about 15 points.[1] The conclusion seems to be that under the present system the Gaelic school child is still at a disadvantage compared to other school children. But even more important to the child's development would seem to be the expression of his response to his rural environment in his own tongue. For this the school tests and the educational code do not fully provide; nor do the tests of life when the adolescent Islander suddenly finds himself at work in a Glasgow factory or abroad in city streets. What concerns us here is the economic drawback of a lack of ready English among

[1] Christina A. Smith, M.A., B.Ed., *Mental Testing of Hebridean Children in Gaelic and English*. (Scot. Council on Research in Education, vol. xxvii (London, 1948); J. L. Campbell, *Gaelic in Scotland* (and ed.) (Edinburgh, 1948).

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

CHAPTER X

BETWEEN TWO WARS, AND AFTER: 1918–1952

(A) SEVEN YEARS' ENDEAVOUR, 1918–1925

1. A Planner: Lord Leverhulme of the Lews

727
458

LOOKING back to the aftermath of unemployment following the First World War and forward to anxieties ahead, a soldier in 1944 protested that it would be exacting too great a sacrifice from the country's manhood to throw it unaided, upon " the hazards of peace ", for the second time in a generation! If Island life is to be planned for in the ensuing peace, we must ask, " What of plans last time? " Depression in the Island was not primarily due to the failure of any one of the three parties immediately concerned—to the Islanders, the crofters, cottars or fishermen, to the Scottish Office or its Departments, or to a particular philanthropist—nor even to failures by all three to get together for the Island's good. All three may deserve their share of praise or blame; who might not, stranded without warning by such an ebbing tide? Behind the personal factors on which biographers and writers have insisted, in retelling Leverhulme's Island adventure, larger forces were at work, undoing the efforts of all. Further, by undermining confidence and preying upon anxiety, disaster upon an international scale brought the Island consultations from unity to feud and to frustration.

[114]

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

159 weighed the estimated expenditure necessary to complete
433 the unfinished projects, and their prospects of success,
228 comparing these with similar conditions on the East Coast and at Fleetwood, and with the trend of prices. His decision was to close the venture, and Harris was sold.
[423] The skeletons of the works were left to rust beside the quay, while the wreck of a coal steamer was left unsalvaged, to break up slowly upon the rocks outside, a symbol of a lost enterprise.

2. *An All-Round Policy for Sea and Land*

185 From the 'start' in Lewis, the first Lord Leverhulme had shown his vision and grasp as a planner. Survey preceded plan, and decisions were swiftly put into action.
185 Why then had abandonment and failure followed? Per-
• 114 sonal factors have been over-stressed. 'Crofters' have been accused of stubbornness, the Scottish Office of procrastination and Leverhulme of impatience or obstinacy. Stornoway shopkeepers have also been apportioned their share of blame; and while all of them welcomed the advent of Leverhulme as sure to bring money through the crofters' pockets to their own tills, it is possible that, later on, some of them did prove Devil's Advocates, having come to fear the rise of competition by co-operative or other large-scale concerns, should the town expand at a
[181] rapid rate. Stressing other factors of character and incompatibility, one popular Scots author went so far as to praise the Lewis crofter for preferring a spiritual life with poverty on a croft, to easy work and high wages in a town. There runs a story, well vouched for, which might seem to confirm this. After Leverhulme had held forth upon 'work for wages', in a township where there had been pressing

3t Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

applications for shares in the division of a farm, but where Leverhulme now felt sure of his success, an old crofter spoke up slowly: "My Lord, what the crofter wants iss *Contemplaition*". Now, fondness for contemplation is found not only among crofters as they age, but among older fishermen all round the shores of Britain, even if it mellows in the Isles especially. Yet, as Leverhulme saw for himself, there was abundant activity among men in their prime, as they strove to refit their boats on their return. In 1919 hope, not contemplation, was their prevailing mood: hope for an active, fisherman's life.

With all these hopeful human factors on the side of common effort at the start, why then did differences of view-point come to be accentuated, not harmonised, and 'incompatibilities' lead so soon to friction, deadlock and breakdown? Surely one basic fact remains. In 1917–18, when Leverhulme framed his policy and made his plans, the Scottish fisheries, to judge from pre-war years, could still expect to hold high place in providing for a brisk market in herring and white fish. True, the value of the Island cure of white fish had fallen from £100,000 in 1900 to one-tenth, £10,000, in 1913; but Leverhulme saw that since fresh fish were now demanded, his capitalisation of equipment with accelerated transit of the catch should bring quick recovery. The herring trade had been active at Stornoway up to the eve of the war; and although the Islanders had made leeway following the introduction of steam and of larger motor drifters, Leverhulme thought he saw an opportunity to capitalise the industry, providing 'work for wages'. This forecast was wrong. Consumption declined, and the market fell. Not only so; the proportion contributed by Scots fishermen to the shrinking market declined even more.

3: Geddes K-4.5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

schemes, and knowing how much local fishing depended upon international policy, particularly the resumption of trade relations with the chief customers of the past, Leverhulme, one feels, should have dealt no less outspokenly with these. The removal of trade barriers lay not in the hands of the Scottish Office or of Scots officials (however internationally minded these might be as private citizens), but in the hands of Ministers of Cabinet rank and leading financiers, of whom Leverhulme himself was one.

In brief, the Scots fisheries suffered after the war as neither Leverhulme nor others had foreseen when first he laid his plans for the Island's prosperity. It seems clear that had this major change been squarely faced by Leverhulme and Government alike, in 1920, 1921 or even later, they could never have fallen apart about a relatively minor issue, that of the farms. Both sides turned their faces away from this disquieting factor of the Baltic markets, though both knew it to be fundamental to the success of Scots fisheries and the Island's future. Had they faced it together frankly, then, even if powerless to effect a remedy, their sincerity might have prevented a deadlock upon a secondary matter.

To Leverhulme, given his large scale of expenditure and return, the division of a few farms formed a minor issue. But to a number of ex-Servicemen, 'crofters' without a croft, the division meant a home and relative stability. Moreover, what was merely a matter for personal decision to Leverhulme, was a lifelong issue to many people brought up in congestion on the wrong side of the boundary fence. Meantime, milk from Easter Ross was available in Stornoway, at town if not at country prices. Lastly, further possibilities of land-development lay open to Leverhulme, though not so readily to the unaided people. In reading

3t Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

reports of early speeches by Leverhulme, Professor Patrick Geddes had quickly come to feel that his old acquaintance, Leverhulme the industrialist, might have overlooked such agricultural potentialities as existed, and that he had quite overlooked the social significance of land. Hence, in May or June 1919, Geddes proposed that a survey be made by one who knew the Highlands botanically, who was experienced in agriculture, and who had some knowledge of Highlanders at home and of sociological factors. Geddes suggested Dr. M. E. Hardy for the task. Leverhulme forthwith accepted the suggestion and commissioned Hardy, whom the present writer assisted on the Island.

Examination of the farms, so hotly debated, showed that they possessed little or no initial superiority over neighbouring crofting settlements. That the farms were placed in the best coastal tracts for agriculture is true, but their shores are at the same time the poorest in harbours and fishing facilities. As a result, the crofters dwelling near the farms along parts of the same machars and smooth slopes were 'crofters' who sometimes fished, rather than fishermen with a house-site and a potato patch. As Hardy wrote (in his MS. Report): "The chief superiority of the farms resulted from levelling, drainage and enclosure" by landlord and farmer, sixty or seventy years before. The improved land both of farms and adjacent crofts was reclaimed from peat and machar, or from an admixture of both. "How then", asked Hardy, "did so much value come to be attached to the farms? The traditional grievance (of eviction) led neighbouring crofters to turn their eyes towards the green patches of the abandoned villages and endowed the old land with special virtues. After the Crofters' agitation of the 'eighties, successive Boards came with their eyes already focused on the farms, by the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

185 Leverhulme grasped the problem in this fresh way, complementing his first policy of the sea for the seamen by one of the land for the landsmen, he could cheerfully have allowed the Government to honour their promise to divide the farms, and thus he would have brought peace to all. In giving up the farms he would merely have had to reconcile himself to additional imports of fresh milk from Easter Ross, at an extra cost of a penny or two per pint. To do Leverhulme justice, experiments on peat were begun (about 1920) upon a small scale, partly, it is understood, as a result of Hardy's report. Yet in failing to make this reclamation an integral part of his plans, in refusing to adapt himself to promises given and to agree to the wishes of many applicants, Leverhulme of the Lews allowed peace to be wrecked. Why he should have stopped work in Lewis in order to remove to Harris, is not clear. There is nothing to show that crofter-fishermen in the creeks of Lochs and other fishing tracts of Lewis believed less firmly in fishing than their fellows in 'the Bays' of South Harris.[1] Nor was there extensive land for dairying in Harris. To make a second attempt to found a centre, involving fresh expense, at Obbe (on the exposed south-west coast), a much less favourable point on the Island than Stornoway, was to court disaster, not to pilot his way through the difficulties of falling markets to success.

185 Leverhulme, it is true, had seen one side of the 'all-round' policy required: the need for a plot of land for the Lewis fisherman and his family. In Hardy's words, "A man's choice of the sea should not prevent his having 'a

[1] In his father's biography, the second Viscount suggests that there was a difference of character between the (unreasonable) men of Lewis and the (reasonable) men of Harris. The assertion is unsupported by the facts. There were raids in Harris, too, comparable to any in similar tracts of Lewis, but in neither were they important.

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

corner he can call his own', a kailyard or garden. His womenfolk might wish to keep poultry, and even a cow. More than this . . . might tend to make the old amphibious life begin over again." Where Hardy went further was to see the need for a complementary policy; the development of crofting into skilled small-holding. "Similarly," he went on, "the development of small-holding, by one who chose the land for a career, should not prevent his spending a leisure hour fishing from the shore, or in a neighbour's boat, for haddock, saithe, or flounders for the morrow's dinner. Yet the wish and need for a higher standard of living involved new emphasis on one chosen vocation, and a greater division of labour than heretofore," whether on land or sea. Some division of callings already existed, be it remembered. Manifestly, in the virtual absence of arable land for them, about 1500 cottar and squatter families had perforce to depend mainly on other occupations than the land. These families included the keenest, most successful, and potentially prosperous fishermen, like those of 'congested' Scalpay (off Tarbert, Harris). The useful "Remarks" formerly published along with the "Creek Statistics" of the Fishery Board, repeatedly contrasted the townships and creeks mainly concerned in crofting with those mainly occupied in fishing. The contrast is to be found from the Shetlands round to Barra or Kintyre. Leverhulme, seeing a future in the fisheries, tried to give the almost landless seamen their chance at sea. Had he accepted the complementary policy of giving a number of the now boatless crofters a better croft and means to improve the outrun, his schemes would have been complete.

It is a misfortune that Leverhulme's one-sided policy had already hardened in his mind when Hardy (and the

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

present writer) came to the Island in August 1919, and still more by November 1919 when Hardy's Report had been completed. Leverhulme had begun to fight for his plan, rather than use it in a supple way. Yet there was still a chance to put things right had the concept of a balanced community been clearly visualised by Government and people, by working fishers and crofters and the educated. Had an active 'Lewis Association' existed at that time, it might have turned the scales.[1]

Lastly, during the war and after it, Leverhulme had said, again and again, that it was his admiration of the people which had called him to the Lews. By means of this 'all-round' plan, the very root of Island character could have been renewed, namely, communal life. It was with their communal life in mind that Hardy—in spite of his horror of bad husbandry and of the physical dirt of the byre and black house—wrote, first, that "rural re-

[1] Quotations from the MS. Report having been published (apparently without permission, and with somewhat misleading criticisms), reference should be made to these to illustrate the need for survey and collaboration with Leverhulme in the first three years of his proprietorship, and the importance of survey for action today. In 1919 Mr. W. C. Mackenzie (to whose historical researches lovers of Lewis owe so much) had published his belief that "Under the new proprietorship . . . the results [of development] will be at once fruitful and far-reaching", without his making any constructive comment. By 1932 he wrote very differently, criticising Leverhulme's policy and also Hardy's (qualified) approval. At that later time, Mr. Mackenzie would have it that 'the Lewisman' was a crofter and fisherman in one, and that for him to become 'mainly a fisherman' or 'mainly a crofter' (in Hardy's words) would be false to his character and tradition. Now, historically, the element of regional specialisation is ancient in the Island; the crofter-*fishers* of Lochs, Uig or 'the Bays' of Harris have long been rather different from the fisher-*crofters* of Barvas, or of Coll and Gress. Specialisation was strongly marked by 1914–19; it still is. Further, Hardy (and the present writer) had not pled for complete divorce of the two vocations of sea and land. We urged that crofting be given its chance as well as fishing; and that the two callings should be complementary. Allowance being made for a quarter of a century of changes, the facts and the need remain. Cf. W. C. Mackenzie, 1919 (p. 187) and 1932, for the quotations given.

3: Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

construction of the Island must rest upon the improvement of the land": and secondly, that by this means "it was imperative to revive the traditional community spirit, the essential feature of Hebridean civilisation". Those words still hold good. Yet the land itself is too barren and the soil too poor to provide a living for many by export of fresh agricultural produce to the mainland. Only a local market could pay a fair price for most of the products of intensive small-holding. Judging from the free, untrammelled trade before 1914, Leverhulme held that fishing could be set upon a commercial basis in the Isles; and there could be few better judges of commercial possibilities than this keen industrial thinker and organiser. If he was right, as surely he was, to begin with, then the local market to be created, or rather enlarged by growth of population and prosperity at Stornoway, could have purchased the fresh milk and eggs, the fresh greens and fruit, raised on enlarged small-holdings and marketed co-operatively.

A final comment remains to be made. The community spirit of Scots fishers from Berwickshire to Barra has gone far to make co-operation among the men of the crews a living thing. 'Work for Wages' offered little outlet for this, indeed it virtually suppressed it; and 'co-partnership' on the Port Sunlight model was a very different matter from the co-partnership of a crew. Even if at that time it had been proved impossible to organise free co-operation in fishing, co-operation in small-holding townships might have kept the communal spirit alive, for later renewal at sea.

It is not easy to assess the after-effects of Leverhulme's activity. Leverhulme certainly helped hundreds of families by the provision of wages for the building or rebuilding of roads and other works, of which some were completed

3: Geddes K-4, 5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

and are of lasting advantage. Yet his projects were conceived impersonally, apart from the people, and to be valued in terms of money alone. Was it to be wondered that more permanent values were liable to be overlooked? Immediate payment and the prospect of further wages rather than a home to build and a boat to adapt, suggested immediate pleasure, for example. The unsettling influences of War, and the natural wish for a big spree after four years of it, led to some squandering of money; and there was heavy drinking at Stornoway by fishers there and from round about. In the end, when payments ceased, the prospects of the crofters and fishers were as barren as ever. Above all, the somewhat conservative though sensible outlook of the people having already been disturbed by the impact of War, their sense of values was further shaken by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts seemed, by comparison, to dwarf their own independent struggles and group co-operation. Of definitely spiritual values little was heard, for 'enlightened self-interest' was Leverhulme's declared motive in life. Remembering this, there are men and women of insight in Lewis today to whose judgment a lifetime's disinterested work with the people gives some authority, who believe that in the end Leverhulme's incursion brought little lasting good. Leverhulme certainly showed how to plan boldly and on a great scale. He drove straight for a vital issue, but in an ill-balanced way. The result raises a major question. Can balanced planning be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are at stake, in opposition to a free community, and in face of an international situation of which the prime social issues oppose his desires and declared principles of 'enlightened self-interest'?

3s Geddes K-4,5 (1919-1952) 1955 ES10 Highland Scots
Lewis and Harris

178 crippling losses suffered after 1914–18. A beginning has
228 certainly been made. The Herring Industry Board's scheme for
434 'Queen of Scots' kippers will help the Minch fishing. It will not necessarily help the ports of Stornoway or Tarbert, because herring can be landed at mainland ports and treated there or else taken by road to the Moray Firth, kippered there, and still qualify under the scheme. The Scottish Agricultural Organisation Society has aided the marketing of lobsters to good purpose.

(iv) *Other Sources of Income earned in the Island*

114 It is to be hoped that members of the Lewis Association
814 may ascertain these, perhaps in collaboration with University research workers. This, in turn, might instructively be collated with the imports and exports of the Island, which are recorded and ascertainable with a precision impossible for a similar area on the mainland. Thus the facts would throw light on the economy of other crofting districts.

(v) *Allowances, Pensions, Unemployment Assistance and Remittances*

657 With regard to money received by the crofting communities
434 of Lewis from other than 'productive' sources, figures have
436 kindly been made available regarding three sources, namely, (*a*)
729 Allowances made to members of the Forces and their dependents, and Pensions, (*b*) Unemployment payments, and (*c*)
434 Money Orders and Postal Orders. The yearly periods for which figures are available are close enough to permit of reasonable comparisons. Among other sources, Bank Drafts form an insignificant fraction of monies received by crofters from outside
[505] the Island. It is impossible to say how much cash is brought
[464] home by men paid off from the Merchant Service and other employment, or how much may be sent through the post in the form of notes, whether registered or unregistered. The amount is known to be large, however, and an estimate based on the number of insured employed, and other figures, would be of value. A token figure is suggested in a note to the concluding Table.

PREFACE

This report is the result of a remarkable co-operative enterprise. In August, 1959, a party of 19 members of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association undertook a survey of crofting in Uig, one of the four parishes of the Isle of Lewis. In less than three weeks more than 700 crofts and other households were visited or recorded in accordance with a scheme devised by my colleague, Dr. Caird, and myself. This scheme has been used by us in other parts of the Hebrides and, therefore, the record of Uig is an integral part of our Outer Hebridean crofting survey, undertaken between 1956 and 1961. We are extremely grateful to the nineteen voluntary field-workers who, it is worth recording, travelled from England and stayed in Uig entirely at their own expense in order to help us; they could have spent their holiday more cheaply in Switzerland - an enlightening comment on the fundamental economic disadvantage of the Hebrides.

Geographical Field Group

Catherine M. Baker
Dennis H. Barrat
Elizabeth Blowers
Barry E. Darley
Ann V. Feighan
Pamela M. Gough
Margaret Grice
Annie Heawood
Bryan Hurl
Anne Iredale
Brian Loughbrough
Brenda Metcalfe
Dennis R. Mills
Jennifer K. Oxenbury
Doreen J. Phillips
David G. Symes
Philip Wheeler

Scottish Field Studies Association

Miss F. Madge Phillips
Mr. Roger H. Thomas

The object of the work was to make an impartial record of the state of crofting as a way of life and as a means of livelihood. The boundaries and land-use of every croft were recorded on 1/2500 plans, enquiries were made as to acreages of crops and grass and numbers of livestock, and the population of each household was recorded, taking account of sex, age and occupation (part or full-time) of each member including those who, perforce, must seek work elsewhere even though their only home is in Uig. The Croft Record form is reproduced opposite.

The successful completion of the survey was not only due to the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group and Scottish Field Studies Association. Adequate preparation would not have been possible without the advice and help of officials of the Department of Agriculture, County Council, Scottish Land Court, Crofters Commission, David Macbrayne Ltd, the estate factors and many other bodies. Miss C. B. Smith, Carnegie Research Assistant, undertook much of the tedious preparatory clerical work. In Uig itself we were encouraged and assisted wherever we went. We owe exceptional debts of gratitude to the Ministers, school-masters and township clerks, who welcomed us and made our purpose known throughout the parish, also to the families who took us into

123 their houses and allowed us to completely disorganise them with our mountainous heaps of maps, files and notebooks, and particularly to the housewives whose excellent meals were never out-paced by our enormous appetites. Finally, although in general it is invidious to mention names when we received so much help from so many, four gentlemen whose assistance was quite exceptional deserve special thanks - Donald John Macleod, Breasclete; John Macdonald, Meavaig; Donald Maclean, The Schoolhouse, Valtos; and 'Murdanny' Macdonald, Breaclete, Bernera.

114 The supervision of field work by nineteen persons whose training and previous experience varied very widely was no easy task. I am happy to record my thanks to those members who undertook special responsibilities in this respect; in particular to Philip Wheeler who took complete charge of the Bernera district, and to Brian Loughbrough 128 who exercised supervision of the East Loch Roag - Loch Carloway district. Every effect was made to ensure that our record was complete and accurate; nevertheless we cannot claim perfection. In some townships, despite cross-checking of maps against croft records, serious discrepancies were subsequently found in the cropping data; in others the stock (of sheep in particular) obtained by adding individual croft records is short of the total which were led to expect in the township as a whole. As far as possible such discrepancies have been accounted for, and we believe and hope that our data and conclusions will be of dome assistance to those whose duty it is to ensure the economic and social well-being of these crofting communities.

This report consists of four parts:

Part I: Introductory (on crofts and crofters)

Part II: District accounts of South Uig

Part III: District accounts of Bernera, East Loch Roag and Carloway

Part IV: Analysis of agriculture and population data, and conclusions.

Parts I and II form the first volume; parts III and IV will form the second. The actual preparation and printing has been greatly aided by the advice and patient assistance of Mr. G.P. Richardson, Assistant Secretary of the Court, and of his staff in the printing department of Glasgow University.

H.A. Moisley.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10
Park

0114

MEMBERS OF THE PARTY

Party Leader	J. B. Caird, M. A., D. de l'Univ.
Assistant	Catherine B. Smith, M. A. (Carnegie Research Assistant)
Members	Beth Blowers
	Anne Cooper
	Denis F. Fancett, B. A.
	Pamela Gough, B. A.
	Rachel Hirst
	Helen Mackenzie
	Gwenyth Page, B. A.
	G. Mary Swindell, B. A.
	Brenda J. Turner
	John Wearmouth
	Philip Wheeler, M. A.

121

FOREWORD

Many are aware that the small scattered communities of the Atlantic fringe of Scotland still pursue an uncertain livelihood by farming under the system known as crofting. There are many, too, who know that the system is in decay and that steps must be taken if the economic decline which threatens these communities with ultimate extinction is to be arrested. Yet, despite various proposals for improvement, the exact nature of the crofting system itself has never been fully investigated. Clearly it is important to do so and the best way of achieving this is by a full survey of the existing conditions. A valuable start was made in the West Highland Survey by F. Fraser Darling which appeared in 1955. In 1956, more intensive studies of particular crofting areas were begun by members of the Department of Geography of Glasgow University under the direction of Mr. H. A. Moisley and Dr. J. B. Caird who thereby initiated the Crofting Survey. Studies were made in Benbecula and South Uist in 1956, in Barra in 1957, in Harris and Waternish (Skye) in 1958, and the value of a team of geographers for such work has been amply demonstrated. For the first time, moreover, survey and mapping techniques were applied to the township as the working unit, for the township is the real basis of the crofting organisation.

114
121 The success of the South Uist project made these further surveys desirable and another opportunity occurred in 1958 when the organisers of the Crofting Survey invited the co-operation of the Geographical Field Group in making a study of the Park district of the island of Lewis. The Geographical Field Group gladly responded to this invitation to contribute to a field study so closely consistent with its own aims and practice. The members of the Group who took part in the survey did so with a strong sense of purpose, recognising from the outset that the Crofting Survey deserved serious support. Together with members of the Department of Geography at Glasgow they made an effective team. The results of their study which forms the subject of the present report, ably prepared by Dr. Caird, make an impressive record from which there already emerges a clearer understanding of the crofting problem. The report is worthy of wide recognition and it is to be hoped that it will be followed by others dealing with different areas.

K. C. EDWARDS

President, Geographical Field Group.

5: Caird et al. K-5 (1958) 1959 ES10 Highland Scots ES10 Park

INTRODUCTION

Since 1955, staff and students of the Geography Department, Glasgow University, have been engaged in a survey of Crofting Districts. This survey is intended neither to rival nor to replace the work of Collier and Fraser Darling, but to supplement their studies by more detailed field work: in the areas selected every croft is visited; so far, including Park, 2,250 crofts have been recorded.

After the publication in 1957, by The Scotsman, of two articles on South Uist by Mr. H.A. Moisley, the Pairc Association inquired whether a similar survey could be carried out in their area of Lewis. Initial arrangements were made by Mr. Moisley, with the co-operation of Mr. MacMillan, secretary of the Pairc Association, and eleven members of the Geographical Field Group spent almost three weeks of their summer holidays working in Park, led by Dr. J.B. Caird, assisted by Miss Catherine B. Smith. The party worked in small groups, each making a particular study of one or two townships. Neither croft nor township boundaries are recorded on any published maps; these were obtained so that land use and house sites could be plotted on 1:2500 plans; details of crops and stock were recorded for every croft and an enumeration of population made for each household, the latter being done by Dr. Caird as a rule, with the help of local residents. Only in this way can a true picture of contemporary crofting be obtained, for official sources, such as the Census and annual Agricultural Statistics, deal mainly with counties, only occasionally with parishes, and never with townships. Yet it is the township groups which are the essence of Crofting.

The people of Park showed great kindness in answering innumerable questions with truth and good humour. Their hospitality was quite overwhelming; without their willing co-operation this study could never have achieved any degree of completeness. It would be invidious to mention any single member; all did their utmost to help, but without Mr. MacMillan nothing would have been possible. It was he who found accommodation for the party in a community where tourist accommodation is almost unknown, and for this, and for much other help, we owe him a great debt. To our hostesses, Mrs. Campbell, 13 Gravir, Mrs. Macaskill, Heatherview, and Mrs. Macaskill, 13 Glengravir, we are perhaps in the greatest debt: they looked after us so very well and unsparingly, and from them we learned the values and outlook of the Park community. By way of preparation, much help was given by Mr. D.M. Mackinnon, the estate factor, by Mr. Donald Mackay, 11A Kershadir, by the staffs of Messrs. David Macbrayne, of the office of the Registrar-General for Scotland, of Register House, of the Department of Health for Scotland and, in particular, of the Department of Agriculture for Scotland. Finally, thanks are due to Miss Bridget M. Gordon, B.A., B.Litt., for the appendix on place names, and to the practical agriculturalist who made an assessment of the agricultural economy possible.

The township reports were prepared by the individual members and the editor contributed the general chapters. The editor would like to record here his personal thanks to the party. Few leaders can have been blessed with such cheerful enthusiasm, steady application and willingness to work long hours; they mastered the methods and techniques of the survey extremely quickly and added new ones. The quality of their field work may be judged from their reports. The checking, organising and filing of the data both in the field and afterwards, as well as the preparation of the tables for the present report, could not have been done without the skill and enthusiasm of Miss Smith. Thanks are also due to Mrs. Esme Diamond and Miss Smith for typing the draft and especially to Mr. I.A.G. Kinniburgh, Cartographer in Glasgow University Geography Department for re-drawing the maps and diagrams.

The value of the field work lies not only in the present report, but also in this permanent statistical and cartographic record in Glasgow, to which we hope present and future research workers will be able to refer.

122 am indeed grateful for this aid and the encouragement which this support implicitly extended.

114 The field work was carried out under the supervision of Dr. Thomas T. Paterson, of the Department of Social and Economic Research of Glasgow University. Were it not for his sympathetic understanding of the problems of the novice field worker, I might never have concluded the research. He also read many sections of the dissertation and offered helpful criticisms and suggestions.

128 I would also like to acknowledge the advice and interest of Dr. A. K. Cairncross, Chairman of the Department, and that of Mr. Angus Matheson, of the Gaelic Department, who guided me through many of the difficulties of the Gaelic language and, as a native of the Isles, read much of my descriptive material on his kinsmen with a critical eye. At Edinburgh University I wish to thank Dr. Arthur Geddes, of the Department of Geography, and Dr. Kenneth Little, of the Department of Social Anthropology, for their guidance.

One debt of gratitude must be acknowledged only by implication, because those who helped me want it that way. Although they are unnamed, their hospitality and their contributions of both facts and insights are not forgotten. To the men and women on Skye, to the Skye exiles in the Lowlands, and to the government officials in Edinburgh and Portree I extend my sincere thanks.

The personal interest of Professor William A. Hance, of the Department of Economic Geography of the Columbia University School of Business, has been an invaluable support. Drawing on

CHAPTER IV

SPANNING TWO CENTURIES

The first problem faced by the anthropologist who attempts 121
to seek cultural continuity through periods of population change in a culture and society contained within Western European civilization is the formulation of an interpretative framework which will reduce the complexity of national and international history to the level of the local culture. The problem is made doubly difficult by the almost complete lack of unbiased opinion. The accounts of the Isle of Skye which 114
have been preserved were written by men who had witnessed and had been impressed by the apparent benefits of expanding imperial commercialism and the prosperity of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution. The writers were pedants, self-styled political economists, and trained agricultural economists. Few of them ever descended from their platform of economic criticism, mainly directed at the proprietors and the principal tenants, to describe the non-economic aspects of the way of life of the people, unless some novelty caught their attention. Those who wrote about the religious facets of the culture were no less opinionated than the economists. The occasional author who devoted attention to the Island's society was more concerned with the personalities of notable individuals and their achievements, especially the exiles, than with the bulk of the population.

114 It is only in the distant past and comparatively recent times that governmental inquiries and enactments give a glimpse into the culture. For well over a hundred years after the abolition of the clan system the British government showed no inclination to become involved in the local situation. While the American colonists rebelled because taxation without representation was no less than tyranny, the Islanders suffered in silence under the laws of the Kingdom. Two works, however, [127] do give a picture of life on Skye. These are the (Old) Statistical Account of Scotland and the New Statistical Account of Scotland.[1]

121 The conceptual scheme which has been adopted to reduce national history to culture history takes two points of departure.[2] On the one hand, there are four well defined periods marked by innovations in the economic, social, and religious aspects of the culture and varying rates of population change. On the other hand, there are the overall trends of culture and population change and the continuity of the culture. The *175 dates selected to mark the beginning of each period are: 1745, 1811, 1845, and 1886. The year 1745 is the conventional date for the beginning of the modern period of Highland history. It also marks the beginning of a prolonged period of population

---

[1] The Statistical Account of Scotland, ed. Sir John Sinclair (21 vols.; Edinburgh: William Creech, 1790-1799); and The New Statistical Account of Scotland, Vol. XIV: "Inverness - Ross and Cromarty" (Edinburgh: William Blackwood and Sons, 1845). I shall refer to these works as OSA and NSA.

[2] I am indebted to Julian Steward for the general approach which follows.

and individualization, there is little, if any, reason to speak of secularization. Many of the existing features of the culture can only be understood when viewed from the perspective of the religious aspect. Certainly, the state church has been weakened by schism and rational practices have replaced superstitious rites and beliefs, but this has not produced a secular society. The religious patterns have reinforced the traditional culture, or those parts of it which were considered worth preserving, by giving the culture a suprasocial sanction.[93] Religion has bolstered the status values, especially those of the father in the family and the old men in the community. Religion has provided many of the occasions at which the people come together to find solidarity and security. Finally, religion has provided the focus for the culture. Although the factors of cultural change have led to modifications in the culture's content, there has been continuity. For a more complete understanding of how Skye has readapted to the higher level of socio-cultural organization and preserved its distinctiveness, I shall devote the remainder of the present study to an analysis of the contemporary culture.

---

[114] [93]After writing the above account, I discovered that Arthur Geddes, a geographer at Edinburgh University, has recently discussed some of the evidence for cultural continuity on the Isle of Lewis and Harris, one of the Outer Hebrides. Although he takes important notice of the all-pervading influence of religion in the lives of the Hebrideans, past and present, I feel he overlooks the function of religion as an agent for maintaining cultural continuity. See Arthur Geddes, The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955).

A, [See 1: Geddes, this file--Analyst]